

DIGLOSSIA IN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN PURI AGUNG TEGAL TAMU IN GIANYAR

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ABSTRACT

Language varieties may be classified according to the users of the language. Regarding the social stratification of the society where the language is spoken, language can be divided into high, middle and lower variety. Language varieties which concern with social stratification between upper and lower class speaker is mentioned as diglossia. This research aims at identifying types and meaning of diglossia occur in Puri Agung Tegal Tamu and also investigating what factors influenced the use of diglossia in religious activities since Puri becomes the center of culture and a place where the civilization begins.

*In Puri Agung Tegal Tamu of Gianyar Regency, religious activities often take place such as *maaturan*, *nunas tirta* and *nunas muput* or *ngantebin*. This research concludes that the diglossia is classified into formal diglossia. Its occurrence in religious activities such as: *inggih* (yes), *uning* (know), *elingang* (remember) as part of H language variety and *nah* (yes), *tawang* (know), *inget* (remember) as part of L language variety. Its meaning for H class speaker is to express the power, and it signifies respect by the L class speaker. It is influenced by several factors such as: field, mode and tenor.*

Keywords: *diglossia, religious activities, and Puri.*

Introduction

Balinese language is the mother tongue of the Balinese society. It is widely used by Balinese not only in Bali Island, but also in other parts of Indonesia which have Hindu migrants. Hindu migrants spread over sporadically in parts of Indonesia as a policy during the second president's regime; Soeharto. The spread aimed to balance the citizen's density and achieved a more prosperous life. The Balinese language is used as their communication in every field of life such as at home, in the temple along with its religious activities, schools and other places despite Bahasa Indonesia is used commonly in the modern society. This language is also used prominently in, art, religion and culture of Hinduism. By these, its use is maintained.

Balinese language is still related to the social stratification which is called caste (*kasta*) which is determined by genealogy which still exists among Balinese society. Since Bali used to be a Kingdom, caste system was applied in the society. However, by the time changes this system is fading. However, it can still be found in the society. Up to this moment, when one uses Balinese language to deliver the words in a conversation, he/she should consider the stratifications. It consists of upper and lower variety. This refers as term diglossia. In addition to these varieties there is also sometimes middle variety. For the situation where there are more

than two stratified varieties are found the term polyglossia may be applied. To express one idea could be found dozens of words. The examples such in followings:

In Balinese an English phrase 'come home' may correspond to three different words, namely *mantuk*, *budal* or *mulih* (Indrawan, 2010:49) The first word *mantuk* and the second one *budal* are of higher variety and supposed to be used by lay people when addressing those who are socially respected or traditionally honored, whereas *mulih* is the variety normally used among common people or between close mates in everyday social encounters. Thus in this case *mantuk* and *budal* are the upper Balinese lexical variety distinguished from *mulih* which is the lower variety.

Balinese language varieties of the upper and lower class can be happened in a more traditional situation. For instance is the living situation in *Puri* or Palace. In the old culture, *Puri* becomes the center of culture and the beginning of civilization. Every detail attitude is well designed, such as the way people eat, the way people dress, attitude on speaking and others. Attitude on speaking includes its language used. How the younger persons address their speaking to the elders as well as the contrary.

Puri Agung Tegal Tamu is located in Br Tegal Tamu, Batubulan village, district of Sukawati Gianyar. This Puri used to have a holy Priest (*Ida Peranda*) but his holy role is replaced by a

Pemangku when he died in 2001. *Puri* welcomes people in its surrounding neighborhood and also the relatives from all over Bali not only to ask for the holy water (*tirta*), but also asking *pedewasan* (an appropriate day to hold a ceremony) and asking for *muput karya* (requesting the holy person to conduct a ceremony). The common people (*jaba*) usually *maaturan* (representing offerings such as *pejati*) to this palace to signify their respect and acknowledge their *karya* (ceremony).

This *Puri* is chosen considering it is the only *Puri* in Gianyar regency which has the *Pemangku* and the ritual activity between *Pemangku* and the common people in this palace is an interesting phenomenon to be observed. The research is focused mainly in the language varieties between upper and lower class as it refers as diglossia. Put together this research aims to 1) Identify the type and meaning of diglossia used in its religious activities in *Puri Agung Tegal Tamu*, and 2) Investigate the factors influence the speaker in using diglossia.

2.1 Language Varieties

Language Varieties may be classified according to the users of the language. In lines with this the varieties can be further divided into two types, namely individual and the societal language varieties. In relation to the uses, language varieties are classified according to several different points of view including the way it is used, the formality, the stratification, and the various professional fields to which the lexicon of the language is normally associated. According to the way it is used, language is divided into the spoken and written variety. According to the formality, there are formal and informal language varieties. Regarding the social stratification of the society where the language is spoken, language can be divided into high, middle, and lower variety. According to the genders, language is distinguished into men and women language variety. In reference with the ethnics who use a language, there are various ethnic varieties of language. In accordance with the fields with which the lexicon of language is normally associated, there can be as many language varieties such as business variety, medical variety, military variety etc. And the last, there is also what we can term as the secret language variety. (Indrawan Jendra, 2010: 28)

2.2 Diglossia

In linguistic, diglossia (pronounced /[dar'glosia](#)/, from Greek: $\delta\upsilon\omicron\gamma\lambda\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\alpha$ <

$\delta\upsilon\omicron\gamma\lambda\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\alpha$, two languages) refers to a situation in which two dialects or languages are used by a single language community. In addition to the community's everyday or vernacular language variety (labeled "L" or "low" variety), a second, highly codified variety (labeled "H" or "high") is used in certain situations such as literature, formal education, or other specific settings, but not used for ordinary conversation (Wikipedia).

Another point of view from Indrawan about diglossia is referring to a situation where there is stratification between the upper and lower class of speaker (2010:49)

Ferguson mentioned that speakers often use more than one language variety in one kind of circumstance and another variety under other conditions. He also noticed that there was a special case of this where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community with each having a definite role to play (Ferguson 1972:232). He then summarized diglossia (1959: 435) as follows:

"Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation".

The notion that diglossia could also be used to characterize other multilingual situations where the H and L varieties were not genetically related, such as Sanskrit (as H) and Kannada (as L) in India, was developed by Fishman (1967).

Fishman (1980:31) offers diglossia as an enduring societal arrangement, extending at least beyond a three generation period, phenomenological legitimate and widely implemented functions. The "languages" in questions, it is clear, may in fact be distinct languages or alternatively, varieties of the same language which are sufficiently different from one another that without schooling, the elevated variety can not even be understood by speakers of the vernaculars (1980:4). Each language variety expresses and is supported by, its own particular set of behaviors, of attitudes, and values, which are fully accepted as culturally legitimate and complimentary" by the members of the speech community (1967:29-30).

2.3 Upper and Lower Class of Speaker

Upper class of speaker in this study re-

fers to the people who live in the palace or Puri. The lower class of speaker refers to the common people who live in the surrounding neighborhood of the Puri. Based on the *babad Arya Kenceng*, these common people were the follower of this palace who joined in the movement from Badung regency.

2.4 Language Choice

Language choice is the choice of one language over another. People interacting with each other by means of a language will be faced with the choice of some codes that selected and properly used in different situation. There are some several factors influencing one's way talking. The function and the topic of the discussion turn out to be important in accounting for the language choice in many different kinds of speech communities. For example, if the interaction is on the school class. It can imagined that it would be in located in the setting at school, the typical of participant will obviously the members of the school and the typical topic will members school activities, problems, etc

2.5 Puri Agung Tegal Tamu

There are several Puri or palaces in the Gianyar regency, they are Puri Batu Bulan, Puri Agung Tegal Tamu, Puri Sukawati, Puri Blahbatuh, Puri Saren Ubud, Puri Gianyar and others. Puri Agung Tegal Tamu is located approximately 15 km east of Denpasar. It is located in Batu Bulan village, district of Sukawati, just before the Barong statue in T junction heading to Gianyar.

Puri Agung Tegal Tamu is part of Badung Kingdom, where in the ancient time it was moved to Gianyar territory along with its followers to start a new settlement and preceded its hierarchy. This movement occurred because there was a war between *Kiyai Anglurah Agung Tegeh Kori IV* against his sibling *Kyai Anglurah Jambe Pole* in Tegal Badung. *Kyai Anglurah Agung Tegeh Kori IV* later established the new settlement in the middle of the seventeenth century. The descendant of this Puri are *Arya Kenceng* and *Arya Damar*.

Comparing with the other Puri in Gianyar, Puri Agung Tegal Tamu considered unique because this palace used to have a holy priest (*Ida Peranda*). In 2001 he passed away and the ritual activity is now lead by a *Pemangku*

Data Source & Theoretical Framework

This research was done in Puri Agung Tegal Tamu Gianyar. The data source for this research was the transcriptions of religious activities occur in this Puri. The method of collect-

ing data of this study was done through observation and library research. As a means of collecting data, observation should be systematic. It means that observation is done according to certain rules and procedural in order to be able to be repeated by other researcher and can also be used as a scientific base for generalization. There are two kinds of observations; they are participatory and non participatory observation. Observation used for this research is non participatory by applying note taking technique and recording.

The observation was done from January-March 2011. It focuses in the religious activity which includes present the offering (*maaturan*), asking for the holy water (*nunas tirta*), and (asking to lead a ceremony) *nunas ngantebin/muput*.

The research applies the sociolinguistic perspective by applying the approach of ethnography of communication. The approach views the meaning of the language according to the context of situation. To identify the type of diglossia the analysis refers to Indrawan's proposal. He states two types of diglossia, namely the formal and non formal one. Formal diglossia is associated with the formally stratified status of the users, as in the use of Javanese or Balinese. It refers to as traditional diglossia. Non formal diglossia is associated with the social or economic condition of the users. It also refers as modern diglossia. (Indrawan 2010:50).

To identify the type of diglossiy this study refers to Indrawan's classification. To identify the meaning of diglossia, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress's *Social Semiotics* (1988) is applied. They focused on the uses of semiotic systems in social practice; the social power of texts in society depends on interpretation: "Each producer of a message relies on its recipients for it to function as intended." (1988:4). To investigate the factors influence the use of diglossia theory of context of situation is applied. Context of situation are field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode of discourse. Field refers to subject matters of the text. It deals with what is happening and refers to the nature of social action that is taking place. Tenor of discourse refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kind of relationship obtains among the participants. Mode of discourse refers to what part the language is playing, what is that the participant are expecting the language to do for them in that situation the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has. (Halliday, 1985:12)

Findings and Discussion

The ritual activity for this research is focused on the activities such as *maaturan*

(representing offering), *nunas tirta* (asking for holy water), *nunas muput/ ngantebin* (requesting the holy person/pemangku conduct a ceremony). The activity usually takes place in a particular day according to Hindu calendar. For example: in the full moon (*Purnama*), dead moon (*Tilem*), *Buda Kliwon*, *Buda Cremeng*, *Anggara Kasih* and others. The people who come for these usually bring the special offering such as *Pejati* or *Nasi Lawar*.

It is important to elucidate how the diglossia used in the ritual activities in Puri Agung Tegal Tamu before we come to the identification of type and meaning and also to investigate the factors influence the use of diglossia in Puri Agung Tegal Tamu

Ritual Activity: *Maaturan*

Dadong Enci : “*Titang maturan ‘tu*”
(I present the offering ‘tu)

.....

Gung Niang Ade: “*Nak Dong Enci mula luung, mula jegeg, kije lakune ade nak moto. Terus Dadong poto e ken Ibun Gung Wah.*

(Dadong Enci is good, pretty, everywhere you go there is someone taking your picture. See, Gung Wah’s mother takes your picture)

Merep kema nake. (Face that way please)

Dadong Enci : smile and sigh, *Dadong buduh. Kanggeang...*

Smile and sigh, (Dadong is crazy. Please accept myself as I am)

Aden buduh, ten kenten? Banding ken saklek ten ade nak ngurusen

(It is better if we are crazy, aren’t we? If we are stiff there will be no one care about us)

Gung Niang Ade: “*Ae, aden yang lengeh-lengeh yang iban yange*”.

(Yes, I prefer to present my self like a crazy person)

Abang Mbotut yang lawar?”

(Do you bring me lawar?)

Dadong Enci : “*Ane meangetan kangge ‘tu?*”

(Is it ok the reboil one ‘tu?)

.....

Dadong Enci : “*Ngiring ke jaba ‘tu. Gung Niang e dija ‘tu? Ten ngeranjing ‘tu?*”

(Please come to my place ‘tu. Where is Gung Niang? Don’t you go to work ‘tu?

.....

Dadong Enci : “*Titang ngelungsur pamit ‘tu Gung Biyang*”

(I excused my self ‘tu Gung Biyang)

Above conversation can be seen that Dadong as the lower (L) class speaker speaking politely to Gung Niang Ade; as the member of the palace. She used the word “*titang*” as the L language variety. In the other hand Gung Niang Ade as the Higher (H) class speaker use the word “*yang*” as the H language variety to reply Dadong. To address the receiver, Dadong used the word “*tu*” abbreviation of “*Ratu*” as well as in the last sentence “*tu Gung Biyang*”, as a emphasized remarked to receiver. Dadong also used Balinese polite word such as: *ngiring ke jaba* (please visit me), *ngeranjing* (go to work) to the H class speaker.

Ritual Activity: Nunas Tirta (includes *maturan*, and *nunas ngantebin*)

- Mbo Nyoman : "Wawu titiang 'tu" (I just arrived 'tu)
 Gung Kak Mangku : "Nak engken ne?" (What do you up to?)
 Mbo Nyoman : "Maturan 'tu, malebos setengah satu 'tu"
 (Present the offering 'tu, later on at one thirty 'tu)
 Gung Kak Mangku : "Enjeb nah. Yang mare teka ling Pengembungan. Enjeb yang ngantebin
 Jam tengah lime. Nah ditu jang pang sing amah e ken siap e.
 Later on. I just arrived from Pengembungan. I will nganteb at 5.30. Just Put it there
 so the chicken will not eat it)
 Ditu alinang asep. (Get yourself dupa there)
 Mbo Nyoman lighted the *dupa* in the *perantenan* kitchen
 "O ne kel maturan kel nunas tirta ne?" Mare di maturan di?
 (Oh... You're presenting offering to ask for the holy water?
 Why do you just come?)
 Gung Kak Mangku : "To to dangine jang". (Put it in the eastern part)

 Gung Kak Mangku : "Adeng-adeng gen, tunang bantene" (Slowly, place your offering)
 Mbo Nyoman : "Gih 'tu". (Yes, 'tu)
 Gung Kak Mangku : "Tawang 'man nyen to?" (Do you know who she is?)
 Mbo Nyoman : "Uning 'tu, ados ten? (Yes, 'tu, why not?)

 Mbo Nyoman : "Ngiring 'tu, titiang pamit". Elingang malebos 'tu".
 (I excuse my self 'tu. Remember later on in the afternoon 'tu)
 Gung Kak Mangku : "Nah" (Ok)

It can be seen that the diglossia happened in above conversation involves Gung Kak Mangku and Mbo Nyoman. She came to Puri to ask for the holy water (*nunas tirta*) and also proposed Gung Kak Mangku's attendance to *muput karya*.

She acknowledged herself by saying "Wawu titiang 'tu" and replied by the H class speaker by "Nak engken ne". Similar to previous conversation by Dadong Enci, She was addressing the speaker with the word 'tu, abbreviation of 'Ratu'; a respected person. She delivered her speech in a such manner. The H words such as: *gih* (yes), *elingang* (remember), *uning* (know) were used to speak to the H class speaker.

In the other hand the H class speaker answered the conversation to the L class speaker by using the L variety words such as: *nah* (yes), *enjeb* (later on), *jang* (put), *tawang* (know).

4.1 Type and meaning of diglossia used in religious activities

Having the elucidation of how diglossia used in above conversation it can be found that type of diglossia used is Formal diglossia or common also as traditional diglossia since the language used is associated with the stratification of the status of the users. The upper class speaker speak high language varieties to the

lower class speaker and in the contrary, the lower class speaker express their intention in the high language varieties to the upper class speaker.

The meaning of diglossia referring to the framework proposed by Hudge and Kress can be explained as a power for the H class speaker and respect for the L class speaker. They explain that the social power of texts in society depends on interpretation: "Each producer of a message relies on its recipients for it to function as intended." (1988:4). This mean that the diglossia used in *Puri* spoken by the L class speaker to the H class speaker is designed in accordance with the topic or intention, and delivered in a such manner. The L class speaker as the producer of a message delivered polite or high (H) lexical varieties concerning religious activities. The diglossia used means signifying respect to the recipient. In the other hand, the diglossia spoken by the H class speaker signified the power.

4.2 Factors Influenced the used of diglossia in Puri Agung Tegal Tamu

The diglossia used in the religious activity influenced by context of situation which includes Field, Mode and Tenor. The field as mentioned previously concern with what is happening. The event takes place is the religious activities such as *maaturan*, *nunas tirta* and *nunas ngantebin*.

The mode is spoken language in a conversation; dialogue. The choice of language used is diglossia; a stratification of high (H) class speaker and low (L) class speaker. The sentences of the conversation are in a statement or request form to the *Mangku*. For example:

“*Titiang maturan ‘tu’*” ----- Statement
(I present the offering ‘tu’)
“*Elingang malebos ‘tu’*” ----- Request
(Please remember later on ‘tu’)

The tenor involves who taking part, to the nature of participants, their status and roles; what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationship of one kind or another. Those who take part in the used of diglossia are the common people or the L class speaker and also the *Mangku* (as part of the Puri). Their status in the community also differs whereas the common people (*jaba*) has lower status compare to *Gung Kak Mangku* who lives in Puri and has prestige role in leading every religious activities in area of Batu Bulan. The relationship between the H class speaker and the L class speaker is a temporar relationship.

Conclusion

Diglossia is a situation where the language is divided into stratification which are the higher and lower class of speaker. Based on the above explanation can be concluded:

The type of diglossia occur in religious activities in Puri Agung Tegal tamu is classified into formal diglossia. The meaning of diglossia used for the L class speaker signified respect, and the used of diglossia for the H class speaker signified power.

The factors influenced used of diglossia in religious activities in Puri Agung Tegal Tamu are field, mode and tenor. The field is the religious activities which includes *maturan*, *nunas tirta* and *nunas ngantebin*. The mode is in spoken language, dialogue in a conversation. The tenor is between the common people (*jaba*) and the *Pemangku* in Puri Agung Tegal Tamu, Gianyar.

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